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Halstead Scores Anti-Cuba Move

NEW YORK — Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers candidate for President, assailed the latest Organization of American States anti-Cuban agreement as one more move by Washington to subvert the legitimate government of the Cuban people.

"It is an incredible reminder of Hitler's big lie technique," Halstead said Sept. 26, "for Washington to talk of the need to act against governments which interfere in the affairs of other countries. Is there any government in the world that can match the U.S. record in doing precisely that?"

Noting that even Latin-American regimes that are creatures of the U.S. had balked at the demand for a blacklisting of ships from countries exercising their right to trade with Cuba, Halstead predicted that in the days ahead Washington would have even more difficulty in lining up forces for its anti-Cuba drive. The U.S. is becoming so hated by the people of Latin America, he said, that even the most servile regimes must seek at least some small public posture of independence from it.

Branding the charge of Cuban subversion the "ultimate in hypocrisy," Halstead pointed to Washington's long, unsavory record on this score. He cited the organization of a mercenary army to overthrow the duly elected Arbenz government in Guatemala, the openly admitted organization of an invasion force against Cuba, continuing landing of CIA terrorist agents in Cuba, the invasion of Santo Domingo, the use of U.S. Special Forces against freedom movements in Latin America and the toppling of a whole series of Latin-American governments whose policies were not sufficiently McCarthyite to suit it.

Insofar as Cuba is concerned, Halstead said, it not only has the right but the revolutionary duty to give every possible aid to those who struggle against tyranny in Latin America. "It is to Cuba's eternal credit," he declared, "that it openly and proudly aligns itself with the forces struggling for justice and social progress. Would that we had a government here to do likewise."

Boutelle Touring in South

By Derrick Morrison

DOVER, Delaware — Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers candidate for Vice President, opened a Southern speaking tour with a highly successful visit at Delaware State College, a predominantly black school here. It was the first time a radical ever spoke on campus and his visit made a real impact.

Between now and Oct. 21 when he will be in Washington for the demonstration against the war, Boutelle will be speaking at black colleges and elsewhere in the

South. Among the places he is already scheduled to visit are Washington, D.C.; Hampton and Norfolk, Va.; Tuskegee and Lowndes County, Ala.; Jackson, Miss.; New Orleans, La.; Houston and Austin, Texas; and Norman, Okla.

The visit here opened with a meeting where the interest was so great that it went on for nearly four hours, with a smaller group continuing the discussion informally after that. The meeting was sponsored by the Student Government Association and chaired by Leroy Tate, chairman of the Stu-



Photo by Bunny Hunter

AT DELAWARE STATE. Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, speaking to black students on first leg of Southern tour.



UPI Radiophoto

AGAINST DICTATORS. Vietnamese students demonstrating in Saigon against phony elections and U.S. policy in Vietnam. Joining them in David Marr, 29, a former Marine stationed in Vietnam and presently a student there.

S. Vietnamese Demonstrate Against Crooked Elections

By Les Evans

SEPT. 26 — The new outbreak of antigovernment demonstrations in South Vietnam shows the complete failure of the Sept. 3 elections there to consolidate any popular base of support for the military dictatorship of Generals Thieu and Ky.

Militant street demonstrations by angry Buddhists and students broke out Sept. 24 throughout

South Vietnam: in Danang, in Hue, in central Vietnam and in Saigon. The protest represented a united effort by those layers of the population who may not have joined the freedom struggle led by the National Liberation Front, but are still unable to stomach the crude U.S.-sponsored regime of the generals. Included in the coalition are the Buddhists of Thich Tri Quang, students, and the defeated civilian presidential candidates with Trong Dinh Dzu, the so-called "peace" candidate, acting as their spokesman.

R. W. Apple, Jr., reported from Saigon in the Sept. 25 *New York Times*, "In each city, the demonstrators denounced what they called the 'blatant rigging' of the voting, [and] demanded that the Constituent Assembly set aside the results. . . ."

The government prepared to fall back on its only base of support: the police and the army.

"Civil Police reinforcements were called out," Apple writes. "In Danang, airborne troops with fixed bayonets and tear-gas gre-

nades stood by, in Hue field policemen wearing camouflaged uniforms sped to the campus. . . ."

"The students marched down Tu Do Street, Saigon's main shopping thoroughfare, paused near the Constituent Assembly building and then walked half a mile to the central market before splitting up."

While the U.S. daily press emphasized the election protest, it was plain that the demonstrations were also directed at U.S. intervention in Vietnam. Thieu and Ky could never have survived in power long enough to hold last month's phony elections if they were not backed up with massive amounts of American money and munitions.

United Press International admitted this aspect of the protest in the caption it released with the photograph on this page: "Marchers were demonstrating against U.S. policy in Vietnam and the outcome of the recent Vietnamese national election."

Aside from the charges of fraud (Continued on Page 3)

Oct. 21 News

NEW YORK — The Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee has chartered a fleet of buses and trains to carry New Yorkers to Washington for the massive October 21 confrontation to end the war in Vietnam. Thousands of leaflets urging "Support our men in Vietnam, Bring them home" and listing the schedule of events in Washington, local departure points and prices of transportation are being distributed throughout the city.

The bus trip to Washington costs \$8.50 per person round trip (Children under 12 — \$7 each). The train costs \$11. Buses will pick up passengers at 19 departure points in all five boroughs, leaving very early Saturday morning, the 21st, and returning that night.

The schedule in Washington — rain or shine — calls for an assembly at 11 a.m. at the Lincoln

Memorial; a march at noon to the Pentagon south parking lot where a rally will begin at 3 p.m. Direct action by those desiring to do so will begin on the steps of the Pentagon at 4 p.m.

The Parade Committee has asked people to mail in their orders for bus and train tickets before Oct. 17. The address is: 17 East 17th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone (212) 255-1075.

Following are a sampling of recent reports that have come in to the Student Mobilization Committee from this country and abroad.

DETROIT — Detroit Area Mobilization Committee: "Ten buses have already been reserved and we have chartered one plane. Round trip tickets are \$15 and (Continued on Page 6)



When an anonymous Teamsters union official was asked the difference between the leadership qualities of James Hoffa and Frank E. Fitzsimmons, he replied, "Jimmy Hoffa was out looking for things. Fitzsimmons sits in his office and if the phone rings, he answers it."

At the present moment, however, Fitzsimmons has two thorny problems on his hands.

He is participating in the Eastern Conference of Teamsters negotiations with five trucking company associations who represent 2,500 individual companies covering 40,000 drivers, organized into 16 local unions. The negotiators are trying to arrive at an acceptable uniform contract to replace the hundreds of individual local contracts which covered the drivers and helpers up to Sept. 1.

Whatever kind of a uniform contract is arrived at, Fitzsimmons and his helpers will have trouble on their hands trying to sell the deal to the men — since many of them will be asked to give up wage rates and fringe benefits much higher than such a contract will provide. The only concrete result of negotiations so far is the second postponement of a called strike.

* * *

But Fitzsimmons has a much thornier problem on his hands. Several thousand frustrated, thoroughly dissatisfied union members who own their own rigs and who haul finished steel from the mills to the factories, have gone on strike in the face of opposition from the International Teamsters officials. These independents are organized into the drivers local unions at their home base. At present they are covered under the national freight contract negotiated last spring by a supplement. The independents have three major demands:

They want a separate contract to be administered by the workers themselves.

They are asking for \$15 an hour after 2 hours waiting time. At present these drivers sometimes spend from 8 to 10 hours waiting for a load. One man, interviewed on TV, told of pulling into a steel mill on a Tuesday at noon. He was still there at noon on Wednesday. When he protested to the traffic manager, he was told, "Tough."

Since all the time spent at a turn-around is at the man's own expense, to say nothing of the money he loses in tied-up equipment, this is a logical and just demand.

Most of the independents lease their rigs to steel-hauling truck companies. Under the present contract they are supposed to be paid 72 cents out of every \$1 the truck firm charges the steel mill. The men are demanding 79 cents. They charge that the unions make no attempt to enforce the existing

contract and that most leasors pay as little as 69 cents out of every \$1 they collect.

Under the first over-the-road freight contract signed in 1938 by the 11-state area committee with the Midwest truck owners, the steel haulers' specific problems were given special consideration. However, today they are treated like step-children.

The men who pull those huge open trailers loaded with steel have one of the most hazardous driving jobs. The seemingly small loads they carry are steel and hence far heavier than they appear. A shifting of the load or a mechanical defect in the equipment which joins the tractor-cab to the trailer can result in tragedy — a jack knifed trailer crashing into the cab and a dead driver.

To date, Fitzsimmons "has been unavailable for comment." Other top union officials have simply refused to comment.

Meanwhile the striking "wild-catters" are operating in a loosely knit organization, from a diner and a filling station. They claim that 15,000 union and nonunion steel haulers have joined the strike. The tie-up has already affected 200 truck-leasing companies in 11 Midwest and eastern states and is now spreading to New England.

* * *

On Sept. 24 the 103 Rockettes, Corps de Ballet and singers who form the main attraction at New York's Radio City Music Hall, turned thumbs down on a company offer of a 16 percent wage increase and went back on the picket line.

The performers had two major demands — a 40-percent wage increase and pay for the 40 hours they rehearse each week. Wages at present range from \$99 to \$126.50 after three years. No wages are paid for the 40 hours rehearsal time each week.

* * *

The copper industry "resents" the implication drawn at the American Mining Congress convention in mid-September, that a government clearance of an increase in copper prices could settle the two-and-one-half month old copper, zinc and lead miners' strike.

Reading between the lines of the corporation statement, the copper barons are not too anxious to settle the strike. The stockpile of the metal is still large. The world price for the metal is weak. They are apparently perfectly content to keep the mines closed until the market strengthens.

Meanwhile the strike by 37,000 copper, lead and zinc miners and processors, goes into its third month. The workers are demanding about \$1 an hour in wage increases and fringe benefits. The companies are offering a package of about 50 cents per hour.

—Marvel Scholl

UAW Officials Use Strike As Pretext for Dues Hike

By Frank Lovell

DETROIT, Sept. 21 — The UAW international executive board, in a special meeting at Solidarity House today, voted to raise union dues and assess all working members approximately \$25 per month for the duration of the auto strike. No mention was made of increasing union strike benefits now doled out to pickets at the struck Ford plants at the miserly rate of only \$30 a week for family men and \$20 for single men.

The executive board recommendations will be voted on at a special United Auto Workers convention in this city Oct. 8.

The proposed dues increase will be permanent if adopted and has nothing to do with the current strike. Instead of the present flat dues of \$5 a month for all UAW members, the proposed change will be based on hourly earnings. For the average member in any of the Big Three auto corporations, who

now earns \$3.40 an hour, payment of two hours wages per month for union dues means an increase to \$6.80. Those earning above the average will pay more (in some categories, nearly double the present \$5 monthly dues), and the lowest paid UAW members (those getting \$3 an hour or less) will pay only a small dues increase of \$1 or so.

The strike assessment is also based on earnings, \$25 a month for all members in plants where wages average \$3 an hour or more and \$15 monthly where the average wage scale is \$2 to \$3. In plants where wages average less than \$2 an hour there will be no increase in dues and no strike assessment.

Immediate reaction in the plants and on the picket lines to these executive board proposals was flat rejection. One of the pickets at Ford's River Rouge plant said he thought the union's top leaders

at Solidarity House were meeting to find ways to help the strike and all they seemed able to do was help themselves. It was argued that the UAW is not now in need of a permanent dues increase, and in any event, consideration of this problem should wait until the strike is won and the regular convention is called.

A caucus of UAW skilled tradesmen, attended by both strikers and others in the non-struck GM and Chrysler plants, decided to revive the \$1-an-hour-now movement, reject arbitration as a means of settling the strike, pay strike benefits of \$75 a week to all pickets out of the swollen \$67 million UAW strike fund, and augment this fund with a special strike assessment on all working members in whatever amount is necessary and for as long as is needed to win the strike against the auto corporations.

These demands contrast sharply with the dilatory proposals of the UAW executive board and promise to become the issues upon which the Oct. 8 UAW special convention will center its attention.

Ford strikers began collecting their \$20 and \$30 weekly UAW benefits today, the end of the second week of the strike which began Sept. 7. Payments at the present rate are expected to deplete the strike fund by about \$4 million weekly. The executive board proposals for dues increases and special assessments are designed to bring in an estimated \$20 million monthly so that the \$67 million strike fund will remain at the same level when the Ford strike ends. The idea being, according to high UAW officials, to keep the union in a strong position to strike Chrysler and GM in that order if necessary after a Ford settlement is reached.

The UAW has issued no statement on demands since outlining reasons for rejecting the Big Three minimal contract offer Sept. 1. At that time it was made clear that UAW negotiators were fully aware that the rate of profit in the automobile industry far exceeds the average rate of industrial profit.

The UAW statement points up this fact: "These profits constitute far more than a fair rate of return on investment. In nearly every year the industry's profit rate runs far above the United States average. In the past five years the Big Three profits on their U.S. operations have far exceeded the manufacturing average rate of return on investment, as the following comparison shows: Chrysler, 20.3 percent return after taxes; Ford, 21.9 percent return after taxes; GM, 24.5 percent return after taxes; all manufacturing corporations, 11.6 percent return after taxes."

Out of these super-profits corporation executives have carved great slices for themselves.

At Chrysler, 47 officers and directors divided \$4.8 million in salaries and bonuses for an average of over \$100,000 apiece. Board chairman Lynn Townsend got \$333,800.

Sixty-one GM officials split up \$15.8 million for an average of \$259,000 each. GM Board Chairman Frederic Donner, after taking a 4 percent cut from the previous year, got \$590,000 in bonus besides his \$200,000 salary for a total of \$790,000 in 1966 (assuming a 40-hour "work" week, this comes to \$390 per hour).

While exposing these super-profits of the corporations and the unprecedented loot grabbed by their top officials, Reuther made it clear in the negotiations that he would be willing to settle for a 5 or 6 percent increase in wages plus a year-end share in the loot. This is what Ford calls the "unconscionable" demands of the UAW.



Top Entertainers to Perform At Parade Committee Benefit

NEW YORK — An impressive roster of stars of the jazz and folk rock world will perform at a benefit for the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee on Sunday, Oct. 15. Proceeds will be used to bring people to Washington for the Oct. 21 Mobilization against the Vietnam war.

Enough performers have volunteered to participate to be able to organize two showings, one at 3 in the afternoon and one at 8 p.m., with a different cast for each show. Both will be held at the Village Theater at Second Avenue and Sixth St.

The following are among those already scheduled to perform: Richie Havens, folk singer; Eric Anderson who will introduce his new electric rock group; actors Rubie Dee and Ossie Davis; Charlie Mingus, the famed jazz musician and his group; Paul Krassner, editor of *The Realist*; Bob Fass, of WBAI's popular late evening talk show; Archie Shepp and his modern jazz group; folk singer Barbara Dane; Moondog and Strings; Tim Rose, a young folk singer; Joe Frazier, formerly of the Chad Mitchell Trio; Paul Knopf, jazz composer and pianist; Bill Fredericks, composer and topical folk singer; and Elaine White, also a composer and topical folk singer.

Two groups are organizing the

benefit for the Parade Committee. The folk section is being organized by *Topics* magazine, and the jazz section by United Jazz Workshops.

Tickets are available at \$3, \$4, and \$5. Special discount tickets are available to students. Tickets may be obtained at the Parade Committee office, 17 East 17th St., New York, N.Y. 10003 or, after Oct. 1, at the Village Theater box office.



RUBY DEE. As she appeared in "Purlie Victorious."

Socialist Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307, Boston, Mass. 02139.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606. WE 9-5644.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44106. Telephone: 791-1669. Militant Forum meets every Sunday night at 7:30.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum. P.O. Box 2649, Denver, Colo. 80201.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Detroit, Mich. 48201. Temple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A., Calif. 90033. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 1 to 5 p.m. on Wednesday.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin

Ave., Hall 240, Minn., Minn. 55403. Federal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey 07101.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (at 18th St.), N.Y., N.Y. 10003. 982-6051.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Socialist Workers Party and Pioneer Bookstore, 2003 Milvia, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Phone: 848-3992. Open 2 to 7 p.m. Monday thru Friday; Saturday 12 to 5 p.m.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum: P.O. Box 8412, Phila., Pa. 19101.

ST. LOUIS. Phone EVERgreen 9-2995. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., S.F., Calif. 94114. 552-1266.

SEATTLE. Socialist Workers Party. LA 2-4325. 5257 University Way, Seattle, Wash. 98105.

N. Y. Black Teachers Press School-Control Demands

By Elizabeth Barnes

During the New York teachers' walkout, the demand for community control of ghetto schools has been intensified and has emerged as an important part of the general struggle for black control of the black community.

Ever since this demand was first raised, the leadership of the United Federation of Teachers has opposed it, and thus it has been one of the key causes of the widening gulf between the black community and the teachers' union.

At Intermediate School 201, during the biggest battle yet waged for community control of the schools, the black community faced the active opposition of the UFT. IS 201 was shut down a year ago by a community boycott whose aim was to allow parents a voice in making school policy. One of the central demands was that the school's white school board-appointed principal be replaced by an Afro-American.

Scabbed on Parents

The response of UFT president Albert Shanker and the teachers at IS 201 was to side with the school board against the parents, and teachers walked through the picket lines set up by community organizations.

The teachers labeled the demand for a black principal as "racist" and made statements to the press calling for determined opposition to the forceful tactics of the community.

The UFT leadership has opposed not only the demand of black control of the schools, but other efforts by the black community to fight for decent education as well. These racist policies of the union have been opposed from the beginning by black teachers. In 1964 a group of them founded the Negro Teachers Association when the UFT refused to give endorsement to the New York school boycotts. Since that time they have changed their name to the African American Teachers Association.

This group has been in the forefront of the fight for black control of the schools. During the walkout, 300 of its members met and voted for a resolution calling for the formation of a "community board of education" which



1964 SCHOOL BOYCOTT. Black parents outside Brooklyn office of board of education. Failure of United Federation of Teachers bureaucrats to back boycott led to formation of black teachers' group.

would take over the school system in ghetto areas. It was recommended that the board be composed of parents, community representatives, and members of the African American Teachers Association.

Before the teachers' walkout, the African American Teachers Association wrote to Albert Shanker charging that, "Your union has not met with community groups, concerned teachers or other qualified professionals in order to devise constructive plans for the improvement of education within the black community."

In addition, the letter pointed out, the UFT had included in its demands something which the black teachers considered inimical to the interests of the black community. This was the demand for new procedures for throwing so-called "disruptive" children out of classrooms. "The plan proposed by your union for the so-called disruptive child will only provide teachers with police powers rather than solve any of the problems," the black teachers pointed out.

For these reasons the African American Teachers Association

announced that members of their organization would teach classes during the walkout. "We can't work with a man (Shanker) who says we must have policemen in the schools," was the way it was explained by Leslie Campbell, Brooklyn coordinator for the African American Teachers.

The black teachers also saw the walkout as a chance to bring black parents into the schools so as to involve them in the educational process.

The implications of black control of the schools could be seen in the activities carried on by the black teachers and parents during the walkout. In one school a Garveyite flag hung in place of the stars and stripes. H. Rap Brown was welcomed at IS 201 while white police were barred from entering. Children studied Afro-American history.

Shanker's Attitude

Many black teachers were uncertain as to whether they should teach or not. It was the fact that the UFT leaders had as one SNCC person put it, so "flagrantly" and "ostentatiously" disregarded the demands of the black community which made many decide to teach. Shanker deepened the sentiment against him when at a giant teachers' rally during the strike he urged parents to keep their children home from school because "sex perverts," persons with "criminal records" or "communicable diseases" might be among those volunteering to help in the class rooms.

In many cases it was the more militant black power, oriented teachers who decided not to go along with the action. One of the teachers who instructed parents on how to teach during the walkout was Herman Ferguson, one of the "17 Afro-Americans Accused."

Black control of the schools is something which the board of education has and will oppose in every way possible. The city administration is well aware of the implications of black control of the schools at a time when the black community is going through a deep radicalization.

It is important to note that although the union now opposes the demand for black control of the schools, it has unconsciously promoted it during the recent walkout. This is because the willingness of the UFT to fight militantly against the board of education in defiance of the new strikebreaking Taylor law has helped to provide the climate for militant actions of all kinds.

Campaign Is Launched For a \$20,000 Fund

By Evelyn Reed

L. B. Johnson will very likely run again in 1967 as the nominee of the Democratic Party.

The Republicans will do no better with whatever ticket they present to replace him in the White House.

Whichever of these capitalist parties win — the majority of American people will lose!

Consider our alternative —

The Socialist Workers Party has already launched the campaigns of Fred Halstead, anti-war organizer, for President and Paul Boutelle, black liberation fighter, for Vice President.

They stand for immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam; for total support to the struggle of Black America for freedom by any means necessary; and for defense of the colonial revolution from Cuba to the Congo.

Both candidates will speak out loud and clear in behalf of this socialist alternative to capitalist misrule and misery on national tours from coast to coast.

That isn't all. The presidential campaign is only one of the many, many ways in which the Socialist Workers Party is vigorously spreading the message of socialism in this country. This requires money and we are asking for your help.

We have just launched a \$20,000 fund to make it possible for us to fulfill our large program of activities over the next six months. Will you contribute toward bringing about a socialist alternative in America? Simply clip the coupon on this page and mail it to us with your donation.

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Monday, October 2, 1967

Was Civilian the Winner In S. Vietnam Election?

By Robert Shann

Did Trong Dinh Dzu, the civilian candidate who came in "second" in the recent "elections" in South Vietnam, really win?

This question must be answered, "probably yes," according to information reported by David Wurfel, an Asian affairs specialist from the University of Missouri who was in Saigon at the time of the elections. Wurfel was sent there by SANE and various religious groups.

LBJ also sent a group of blue-ribbon observers over to Saigon for the purpose of coming back and reporting that everything went fine, which is just what they did. However, Wurfel pointed out that these fellows were too busy with official tours to do much actual observing.

Wurfel reports that there was "extensive fraud" on election day, involving "up to 500,000 votes."

The official returns had the Thieu-Ky ticket coming in first, with 1,638,902 votes. Dzu supposedly got 800,285 votes.

The military gangsters who run Saigon had barred all candidates

they didn't like from the election. Dzu, however, within the limits proscribed by the gangsters, was considered a "peace candidate." Dzu strongly protested the election results and charged the military with fraud.

Now if 500,000 votes were switched from Thieu to Dzu, Dzu would have won the election, 1,300,000 to 1,200,000.

Besides the instances of fraud, Wurfel said, there were "hundreds of thousands of votes produced by pressure exerted by the government through the military and the civil service."

Meanwhile, Dzu, who probably won the election in spite of the corralled votes of the soldiers and government workers, has been convicted by the gangster government of various corrupt practices. We would be the last to suggest that any of the Saigon politicians couldn't be found guilty on such charges. Especially a rich lawyer like Dzu. But it is an interesting comment on what Washington hailed as a "major step forward" for democratic government in Saigon.

...S. Vietnam Demonstrations

(Continued from Page 1)
leveled by eight of the 10 defeated civilian candidates for president, more and more "hard" information is coming to light on the rigging of the elections.

The Sept. 26 *New York Times* reports that a post-election survey has been carried out in which a "score of village, district and province officials" have been interviewed in an examination of official polling records in five provinces in the Saigon area.

"The sampling of polling records," writes Tom Buckley from Saigon, "showed that the election regulation requiring the posting of the official results at each polling place was ignored. In many instances . . . village officials were given no part except the task of providing security. Clerks and poll-watchers were brought in by the district chief."

In Benluc district "The original figures for two polling places, written in ink, had been crossed out. The new figures, written in pencil, reduced the vote of Tran

Van Huong, who had been regarded as the strongest of the civilian candidates. . . . In one polling place his vote was reduced from 114 to 3 and at another it went from 104 to 2."

This says nothing of the fact that no candidate the military disapproved of was allowed to run and the majority of South Vietnam's population, living in NLF controlled areas, were not allowed to vote by the Ky government.

President Johnson's team of "blue ribbon" observers who hailed the "honesty" and "good order" of the elections deserve their blue ribbons not for their vigilance but for their obedience in seeing what they were told to see.

It is clear that almost all the people of South Vietnam with the exception of the military clique want the U.S. to get out of Vietnam. This is one more reason why opponents of the war in this country should work to bring out a massive turnout in Washington on October 21.

I Want to Help

Enclosed is my contribution of \$..... to help fulfill the \$20,000 Socialist Fund.

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Send check or money order to:

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
873 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10003

Cuban Rally Hails Black Struggle

By Joseph Hansen

[The following is a copy of an article mailed from Cuba by our editor on Aug. 19, a week after the close of the Latin-American Solidarity Conference. It was delivered this week.]

HAVANA — A mass meeting in support of the struggle of the black people in the United States was staged Aug. 18 at the former "Maine" park, here.

Advance publicity for the meeting included pages of write-ups in the newspapers, quickie meetings on the job and in the schools, and sound trucks in the street.

A crowd estimated at some 60,000 people turned out despite a tropical downpour that did not end until the program was scheduled to begin.

Salute to Rebellions

The participants, mostly workers, marched into the plaza in big contingents, bearing hundreds of banners and placards saluting the rebellions in the ghettos of the USA. Many of these were crudely lettered. The biggest ones, representing union locals, made colorful displays. The slogans included: "Cuba is on the side of the black fighters"; "Long live the black people of the USA"; "Protect Stokely's life"; "Armed struggle is the only road to freedom"; "We support the American blacks."

In back of the rostrum a huge screen showed a map of the United States. Sketched on top of it was the outline of a black fighter gun in hand. The following slogan, in billboard-size letters, was posted alongside: "Nuestra Solidaridad con los combatientes negros que en los Estados Unidos golpean al imperialismo." [Our Solidarity with the black fighters who are striking at imperialism in the United States.]

Official Tribute

Prominent Cuban leaders were on the stand. These included Manuel Luzardo and Elena Gil of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Melba Hernández

dez of the Vietnam Solidarity Committee. Elida Acosta of the Organizing Committee opened the meeting with a rousing tribute to the Watts uprising in Los Angeles two years ago as the beginning of the present social storm in the United States.

The main speaker of the evening was Jaime Crombet, general secretary of the Unión de Jóvenes Comunistas [Union of Young Communists]. He dealt with the interconnection between the struggle of the black people in the United States and the colonial revolution, particularly in Cuba and Vietnam. He paid special tribute to the uprising in Watts on Aug. 18, 1965.

Common Enemy

"As blood brothers, holding common convictions, a common ideology, and confronting a common enemy, we express our solidarity with the heroic American black people, who are also undertaking to destroy the entire monopolistic and imperialistic power in the United States itself," Crombet declared.

Referring to the fact that the rally was being held in front of the pedestal which supported a giant bronze eagle in the days before the revolution (the aggressive symbol of U.S. capitalist power was knocked down after Batista was overthrown), Crombet said: "We are meeting here to tell the imperialists that the imperial eagle can never be returned to this pedestal and that they can never again trample on our soil with their boots, since all the upright men and revolutionaries of the world are rising to defend us against those who are trying to commit this barbaric act."

Black Cuban Leaders

Crombet recounted the contributions made by black leaders to Cuba's struggle for freedom, listing Antonio Maceo, Guillermo Moncada, Quintín Banderas, Juan Gualberto Gómez. These and "all the glorious blacks who also brought freedom for our people" will always be remembered with respect and devotion, he said.

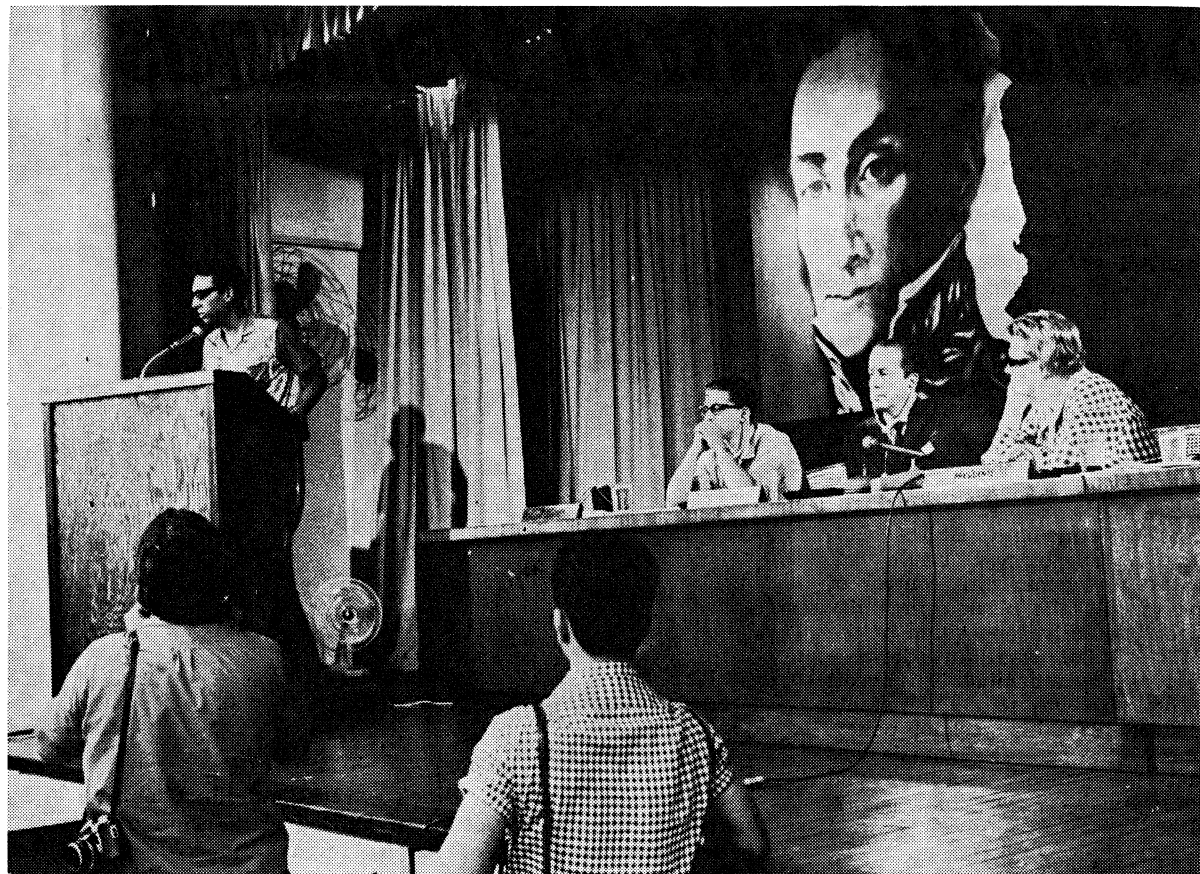


Photo by Joseph Hansen

STOKELY CARMICHAEL AT OLAS. Black power leader addresses conference of Latin-American revolutionaries held in Cuba in August.

He recalled the words of José Martí denouncing discrimination, in the struggle against racism in the days before it was eliminated by the revolution. Man is more than black, more than mulatto, no matter what the color of his skin, Martí said; what counts is to be a revolutionary and a defender of one's country.

To end discrimination in Cuba, Crombet declared, a revolution was required, a revolution that put the working class in power.

Referring directly to the U.S., Crombet pointed out that "The American black people are subjected to the most barbarous discrimination history has known."

He scored the way the black

people are denied economic, educational and other opportunities in the U.S. They constitute the most exploited layers in the country and this is also reflected in the war in Vietnam where they are suffering the highest rate of casualties.

"The American black people, as you know," he continued, "are among the most ill-informed in the world, subjected not only to repressive acts by the organs of the imperialist state but to other mechanisms upholding this power, such as the news agencies that distort happenings everywhere in the world. They are the most ill-informed people in the world and the most betrayed by their ruling class. But they have been gaining an understanding, little by little, of the imperialist character of their government; and an ever greater struggle is being waged by them against the efforts of the imperialist government to destroy the heroic people of Vietnam."

Renew Struggle

Crombet appealed to the American black people to intensify their struggle in opposition to sending their sons to serve as cannon fodder in Vietnam.

During his speech, Crombet referred to Stokely Carmichael a number of times. Mere mention of Carmichael's name was sufficient to draw strong applause from the crowd. Crombet expressed special appreciation for the better understanding of the struggle of the black people which had been gained in Cuba through Stokely Carmichael's visit.

Crombet appealed to "all the revolutionists in the world, to all the peoples in the world, to help impose respect for the lives of Stokely Carmichael, Rap Brown and other American black leaders who are struggling for the freedom of their people."

Following Crombet's speech, a short documentary film, "Now," was shown. Barbara Dane, the American folk singer, offered a medley about the black struggle. Her comments were translated by Elizabeth Sutherland, a leader of SNCC, now visiting Cuba.

A Cuban singer brought the meeting to an appropriate close with several songs hailing the black struggle in the U.S.

An Afro-American Reporter's Finding

Black Freedom in Cuba

By Susan Harris

According to Charles P. Howard, foreign correspondent for the *Baltimore Afro-American*, "the freest persons of African descent I have found anywhere are in Cuba."

Howard, who has traveled extensively during his career as a journalist, has just returned from Cuba and is writing a series of articles on his findings for the *Afro-American*. He explains that, "Castro's revolution was fought for and by the poor, the exploited, the dispossessed, the disadvantaged, against the rich, the exploiters, the imperialists, the racists, and the privileged."

Fidel

While interviewing Fidel Castro, Howard had a chance to discuss the black liberation struggle in the U.S. with the Cuban leader. Castro talked about Stokely Carmichael's trip to Cuba and referred to the "hundreds of articles about Stokely's trip" that have been published in the U.S. — "some very rude, others more subtle."

Castro said that, "Some say, 'Stokely is fooling Castro,' 'Castro is fooling Stokely' . . . They try to make us believe that the colored movement in the United States is a racist movement . . . It is logical that the exploiters who for centuries practiced racism against the colored population, now consider racists all those who struggle against racism."

Referring to the Afro-American struggle as a "difficult" but "heroic" fight, he said "the papers accuse the black movement of having no program. Well, this shows that often a movement can begin before the program. But it is also false that the movement has no program; what is happening is that the colored sector of the population of the United States at this moment, overwhelmed by the daily repression, has concentrated its energies on defending itself, on resisting, on struggle."

"But it will not be long before they will discover something that is inevitable according to the laws

of society, the law of history. And that is that from this colored sector — because it is the most exploited and repressed sector, the most brutally treated in the United States — will arise the revolutionary movement in the United States; just as from the most mistreated and most exploited, the most oppressed of the colored sectors will come the revolutionary vanguard within the United States."

No Distinction

In discussing the life of Afro-Cubans, Howard writes that, "the government has chartered the course that there shall be no distinction in Cuba between the people of Cuba on a basis of color. The government has lived up to its part of the bargain and insisted that the population do the same. . .

"As an example, the government has brought together 60,000 youngsters from disadvantaged areas, black and white, some from the mountains, some from slum city areas and housed them together in one of the areas left vacant in Havana when the rich moved away . . .

"Every level of necessary education is provided in the area. Nobody thinks of it as an experiment in racial mixing. It is simply bringing together 'Cuban children' where they can get the best possible training for living."



Charles P. Howard

Pro-war March A Flop in L.A.

A pro-war parade held in Los Angeles on Sept. 23 was a flop. The *Los Angeles Times* reported that "the 800 to 1,000 which police estimated were in the parade fell short of the 15,000 parade sponsors had predicted."

Last month, an antiwar march was held in Los Angeles of between 10,000 and 20,000.

The pro-war march didn't attract many ordinary citizens. The parade included half a dozen bands, Cub Scouts, and members of 30 American Legion and 20 VFW posts. The largest contingent was made up of 200 Cubans for Victory (counterrevolutionary emigrés).

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AT NEW POLITICS PARLEY

The "Black-White" Issue

By Harry Ring

Most reports about the New Politics conference held in Chicago Labor Day weekend have focused on the role of the Black Caucus at the parley. Much has been made of the fact that the convention endorsed a "take-it-or-leave-it" radical political resolution presented by the Black Caucus, including a condemnation of Zionism, and that the white delegates voted to give the Black Caucus half the convention votes.

Racist-minded reporters for the commercial press have pointed to this with mock horror as a frightful example of the "undemocratic" nature of black power. Others chortled over how the white liberals and radicals had "capitulated" to the blacks.

On the other hand, some publications sympathetic to black power, like the *National Guardian*, have hailed the actions of the convention on this issue as a noteworthy step toward meaningful black-white unity.

What really happened in Chicago?

Summary

To determine whether or not any kind of meaningful black-white alliance was established, it is necessary to first summarize what actually occurred there.

To begin with, actual black participation in the convention was much smaller and much more diffuse than is generally realized. The figure 600 has been generally accepted as the number of black people present at the Palmer House. But no figure has been issued on how many of these people registered as delegates and how many were simply observers.

However, a study of the voting list issued at the convention establishes the following:

There were more than 300 organizations at the convention with a total claimed active membership of some 28,000. (Delegates cast as many votes as they were supposed to have members.)

Of these 300-odd organizations, no more than 30 were all-black. The total number of active members reported by these was less than 5,000.

Of that number, 1,015 were represented by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and related groups, and 450 by the Lowndes County Freedom Party and Au-

tange County Association of Alabama.

What gave the impression of extensive black participation in the conference was the presence, largely in the corridors, of the many blacks who came as observers but never actually took part in the convention deliberations. There were people from SNCC, CORE, SCLC, various nationalist groups, revolutionary socialists and others. It should be noted that only a few local CORE chapters, and SNCC groups registered delegates. None of the black organizations participated on a national basis.

Many of these people had come to Chicago because the National Conference on New Politics had issued an appeal signed by a number of prominent figures in the black community urging black participation in the convention. (Some later said they had not authorized use of their names.)

At any rate, on arrival many of the black people had serious misgivings about what they were getting into. Instead of participating in the convention sessions they attended meetings of the Black Caucus which had been initiated by some Chicago people.

At the caucus meetings the discussion was intense and a variety of views presented. The view was widespread that they would be used by New Politics similar to the way blacks have been used by other white political movements.

Reformist

Some argued that even if they won the right to participate on an equal basis, the aims of the conference as represented by its three principal wings (for "local organizing," for a third presidential ticket, for a third party) were all so reformist in character that black people could not gain from it.

Others like the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party spokesmen took a jaundiced view of the gathering because they remain committed to working in the Democratic Party and saw the proposal for a third ticket as running counter to this.

As a result of this discussion, an extremely significant event occurred, one that was almost completely buried in the many reports that have been written about what happened in Chicago. This was the fact of the organization

of a parallel Black People's Convention. This began the day after the New Politics convention went into official plenary session and functioned counter to it.

The opening rally of the Black People's Convention drew 800 people. Floyd McKissick of CORE, James Forman of SNCC, and a number of other black spokesmen addressed the gathering.

On Saturday, 150 people participated in four workshops on various aspects of the black liberation struggle.

On Sunday, there was a meeting of 300 which heard H. Rap Brown and others summarize the workshop discussions. (For a full report on the Black People's Convention, see *The Militant* of Sept. 11.)

At NCNP

Meanwhile, those who remained at the Palmer House continued to try to determine how they would relate to the New Politics gathering. There was powerful pressure against participating. Many, probably a majority, had departed for the Black People's Convention. In a speech to the New Politics gathering, McKissick had polemicized against a third reformist ticket and announced he would be addressing the Black People's Convention. In another speech, James Forman made a powerful, pointed appeal to the blacks present not to be used or tricked. H. Rap Brown made his attitude clear by refusing to address the entire body and spoke at an all-black meeting.

It was in this context that those remaining in the Black Caucus decided to put the convention on the spot by submitting its 13-point resolution with the declaration that if it were not adopted *in toto* they would leave. It could not be seriously argued that the 13-points — which were quite revolutionary — represented the thinking of the entire Black Caucus. Certainly it didn't reflect the view of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference or the Mississippi Freedom Democratic leaders, who were participating in the caucus.

Yet the resolution presented the NCNP leaders with a thorny problem indeed. A black walkout could have well ensured the death of the organization. The proposal to concur with the resolution was presented in that clear context. True, there were radical-minded delegates who supported it because they agreed with its general political stand. And there were others who genuinely felt that even if they didn't fully agree, a vote of concurrence would aid the black movement and lay the basis for meaningful black-white unity.

Third Ticket

Others, like Communist Party supporters and DuBois Clubs members, argued for concurrence with the resolution even though their political thinking falls a good bit short of the radical stand embodied in the 13 points. They were motivated in part by the belief that black participation would increase the pro-third-ticket forces in which they had made a heavy political investment.

The motion to concur was approved without any serious debate on the actual content of the resolution. Many hostile reporters gleefully pointed out that the vote of concurrence included support for all of the resolutions adopted by the Newark Black Power Conference, including a number whose content have not been made public.

Such points aside, it would certainly be silly to claim that concurrence with the 13 points represented a serious meeting of minds on the actual political issues involved. For many of the people in the Black Caucus and for an even larger number of the white NCNP delegates the resolution will



ADDRESSES NCNP CONFERENCE. Floyd McKissick, national director of CORE, speaking at NCNP session.

be a scrap of paper to be filed in the wastebasket. While the act of concurrence did block a full black walkout, it accomplished nothing of a durable political nature.

Similarly, it is a political fiction to assert that the decision to give what remained of the Black Caucus half the convention votes really established a black-white alliance.

This proposal, which gave the Black Caucus formal mechanical control of the convention, was presented as a revolutionary move to extend full equality to black people in the New Politics movement. There is not a shred of reality to this.

To begin with, the real decisions had already been made at the time this voting power was given the Black Caucus. Several votes had already registered that the convention was divided beyond reunification and it had been agreed in effect that everyone would do their own thing. This was summed up in the vote on the conflicting third ticket vs. local organizing programs. After adopting the local organizing perspective by two votes out of 23,000 cast, an additional compromise was adopted in the form of an amendment which stated that those who wished to run third tickets in various states were free to go ahead and do so.

At that point, just what could the Black Caucus do with their votes?

Convention Split

Viewed in that context, it becomes clear that the move was simply intended as one more measure to induce some black people into joining what had become a badly split, foundering, virtually all-white political gathering.

(It's also true that the Communist Party and other third ticket partisans were motivated by the belief that the move would open the door to reconsideration of the defeated third ticket proposal. This hope was dashed when, after the Black Caucus was given the controlling vote and the motion to reconsider the third ticket proposition made, the Mississippi Freedom Democrats effectively killed any move in that direction.)

Certainly, every effort must be made to achieve unity between black liberation fighters and whites working for social change. But it will not be established by demagoguery or cynical parliamentary maneuvers. Such unity can be secured only on the basis of whites conducting a straightforward exchange of ideas with a united black movement and arriving at precise agreements on clearly spelled out common goals, as well as the means of achieving them.

At a Palmer House press conference during the convention, Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers vice presidential nominee, put it this way:

"...Until black people come together to discuss and adopt an

uncompromising program for black liberation, they will in practice be used by political formations such as the National Conference on New Politics to provide black cover for whatever schemes white liberal politicians cook up.

"Deals will be made behind closed doors to promise black people anything so long as the white liberals don't have to deliver, and so long as the black faces remain to give the illusion that the white liberals are united with and are friends of the black people."

What happened in Chicago was essentially a political charade designed to bolster the myth of significant black support for New Politics. Such a myth can only prove destructive of a meaningful alliance between black freedom fighters and revolutionary whites. Unity of the kind that will advance the goal of social progress for black and white alike can be created only if it is based on a militant, fighting program.

Alliance in Struggle

That kind of black-white unity will not be advanced on the basis of capitalist politics. It will not be advanced by working in the twin parties of racism and capitalism. It will not be advanced by offering a reformist "third" alternative to the presidential candidates of the two capitalist parties. Nor will it be advanced by a program of "local organizing" which turns out in practice to be either a form of precinct work within the capitalist parties or, as is the case with much community organizing, social work with a radical trim.

There can be no meaningful alliance for black people unless it is based on true equality and on a program of struggle against the social and political system that oppresses them. That means black people must have their own independent political power base if they are to be assured of an alliance that will not prove one more form of servitude. An all-black political party which will, by the very logic of the situation, move in an anticapitalist direction will provide a sound basis for united action with revolutionary-minded whites.

But those whites will need to have something more to offer than lesser-evil politics in a "new" dressing.

Black Antiwar GI Jailed by Army

Pvt. Ronald Lockman, a 23-year-old black GI, was arrested Sept. 15 by Oakland, Calif., Army authorities for refusing to board transportation to Vietnam. Lockman, a member of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, faces a possible five years in prison for refusing to obey an order and an additional year for missing "through design," an ordered troop transport.

At a press conference in San Francisco Sept. 13 Lockman declared in a prepared statement: "My position on my orders is NO!! I won't go. I can't go. I will not be used any longer."

A hearing is scheduled for Oct. 3 to determine the kind of court-martial Lockman will face. He is

being defended by attorneys Stanley Faulkner, New York, and Terrence Hallinan of San Francisco. Faulkner and Hallinan intend to base their defense on the Nuremberg decisions prohibiting the commission of war crimes. They intend to introduce evidence from the International War Crimes Tribunal initiated by Bertrand Russell.

Lockman was a founding member of the DuBois Clubs of America and was active in that organization in Philadelphia.

The DuBois Clubs have announced that "On the opening date of the court-martial the DuBois Clubs will call for nationally coordinated supportive actions to draw nationwide attention to Lockman's stand."

At the DuBois Clubs convention Sept. 8 in New York Lockman said: "My fight is back home in the Philadelphia ghettos where I was born and raised. I will not go 10,000 miles away to be a tool of the oppressors of the Vietnamese people."

He was elected honorary chairman of the DuBois Clubs.

Does your local library have a subscription to THE MILITANT? If not, why not suggest that they obtain one. Librarians are often pleased to have patrons call their attention to publications that they should have available.

Malcolm X
The Man and
His Ideas

By
George Breitman

25 cents

MERIT PUBLISHERS
5 East Third St.,
New York, N. Y. 10003

Dayton Blacks Blast Wanton Killing by Cop

Sporadic disorders erupted in Dayton, Ohio during the week following the killing of a black man by a cop on Sept. 17.

Elwood Barbee, 41, was shot twice in the back by Detective Robert S. Collier. Collier and another cop said that Barbee fled from them, and they gunned him down because he had a smoking pipe in his belt and "they thought it was a gun." The two cops had been working at a Shriners' convention and were wearing fezzes at the time of the killing. Collier has been charged with manslaughter.

Meeting

City Manager Graham Watt called a meeting to "explain" the killing but angry blacks turned the meeting into a denunciation of the racist police department.

Arthur Thomas, assistant principal at MacFarlane school, shouted, "You don't give a damn about the Negroes. The only reason this meeting was called is that city officials are concerned because you think some of your honkie businesses might be burned down."

Rev. U. A. Hughey asked, ac-

cording to the *Dayton Daily News*, if it were true that the city was planning to buy armored cars.

City Manager Watt tried to avoid the question but finally admitted that he plans to buy "armored but not armed" vehicles to "protect the police."

At this point, Thomas shouted, "Why don't you buy 70,000 vehicles for the protection of black men?"

"Stinks"

Even State Representative C. J. McLin said, "This whole mess stinks. As you know, I've always been for law and order — but this stinks."

McLin charges that police vice squadmen "break down our doors and take black prostitutes off the street, and use them."

Blacks presented four demands to Watt: 1) That white policemen who presently work in the black community take psychological tests to find out if they have racist attitudes; 2) More blacks should be hired on the police force; 3) Only black policemen should be allowed in the black community and 4) The vice squad should be removed from the black community.

Cambridge War Vote Challenged

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — The Cambridge Neighborhood Committee on Vietnam filed 7,500 signatures of registered voters on Sept. 11 to place a referendum calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam on the ballot here. This was more than double the required 3,650 signatures to place an issue before the voters.

A week later, the CNCV, a coalition of most antiwar forces in Cambridge, received the ruling of the city solicitor that the referendum was not in the "province" of the city. The CNCV immediately started court proceedings against this ruling, using the California Supreme Court decision in favor of the San Francisco referendum as a precedent.

The same situation is faced by the circulators of another referendum petition. This group is led mainly by members of the Progressive Labor Party, and Harvard SDS, and had refused to work with other forces, explicitly excluding members of the Young Socialist Alliance from working on "their" petition.

Introducing New Column

By Paul Boutelle

The Militant has invited me to write a regular column. In this column I will have the freedom to cover a wide range of topics, and to vary the content matter as I see fit.

I consider this to be an honor, because *The Militant* has a national and international circulation and has received acclaim from such an outstanding person as Malcolm X, who said in his last year that it is one of the best papers published anywhere.

For some years I have given thought to writing, even while I was concentrating mainly on speaking, but this will be my first serious attempt to see what talents I have in this area. As I am not a professional writer, I ask *Militant* readers not to judge me too harshly in my first attempts.

In fact, I look to readers for active help. I have some ideas of my own about what will appear in this column, but I would appreciate receiving suggestions and criticisms from readers: Topics they would like to have covered here, questions they would like discussed, even arguments they want to make about things I write. All suggestions and criticisms will be carefully considered because I intend to be flexible and experimental.

Topics

Here is a partial list of things I hope to deal with in addition to current events:

The cause and cure of racism. Lessons of the black uprisings since Watts.

The strategy of a minority group.

Vietnam as a crucial test for militant Afro-Americans: How can we expect help from the colored people of the world if we do not help the colored people of Vietnam by striving to do everything in our power to force the U.S. government to bring the troops home — all of them and now?

Learning our history is not just a pleasant pastime: One who does not know his own history is not really prepared to create a different future.

Black nationalism and socialism — their relation and inter-relation.

Can "black control of the black community" (a central plank in my election platform) be achieved without a revolution?

The meaning of revolution.

Are freedom, justice and equality possible under capitalism?

How can we internationalize our struggle?

Black Party

Why we need an independent black political party.

Why we must give top priority to the defense of Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael and the 17 defendants in the RAM case.

The role of black people in the unions.

Uncle Toms, and various ways of taking care of the mischief they cause.

What we can learn from the history of American Indians.

Our heroes and heroines, and the contributions they made.

The danger of black genocide, the obstacles in its way, and how we can increase their number.

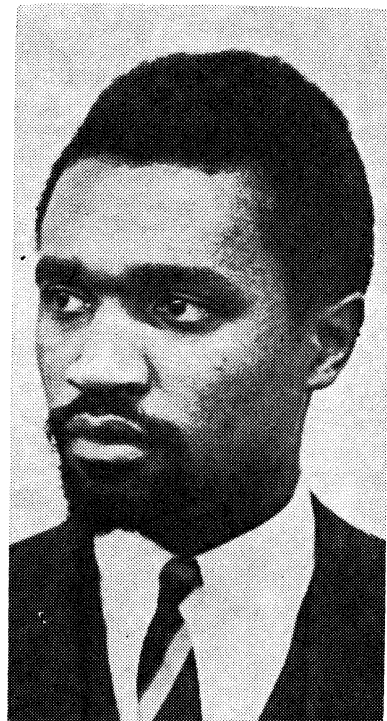
Self-defense, and its many ramifications.

Preconditions for meaningful alliances.

In addition, I will also try my hand at reviewing books and pamphlets, and maybe movies and plays. I will even print some good jokes, if readers will send them along.

* * *

From time to time I will call attention to various papers, magazines and other publications put



Paul Boutelle

out by freedom fighters, mainly in America, but also overseas.

When I was in Chicago recently, I obtained a copy of *Rebellion News*, a lively 4-page tabloid published monthly in the Boston area. It is subtitled "Better to Fight on Your Feet Than to Die on Your Knees," and is "published in the interest of the Roxbury, North Dorchester and South End Community." The issue I saw was dated August, and the headline, over a story about the Detroit uprising, was, "U.S. DECLARES WAR ON BLACK PEOPLE." It also contains stories about the Newark rebellion, the NAACP, an editorial on "The Time for Unity," a column on Black History by editor Bob Eubanks, and others. Price is 10¢ a copy, \$2 for a one-year sub. The address is Rebellion Associates, 255 Dudley St., Roxbury, Mass. 02119. Please send me copies of publications you would like to have publicized.

* * *

Marcus Garvey said, "Lenin and Trotsky were able to overthrow the despotism of Russia, and today they have given to the world a Social Republic, the first of its kind. If Lenin and Trotsky were able to do that for Russia, you and I can do that for Africa."

A friend in New York has given me this quotation and wants to know: "Is it authentic? If so, when and where did Garvey say it, and what was the context in which it was said?" Can any reader supply the answers?

* * *

I wrote this column just before leaving Harlem for a 4- or 5-week speaking tour of the South. I will try to continue the column while I am on tour, but I can't be sure in advance that I'll be able to do it every week. I will send what I can, but regular weekly publication may not really begin until the end of October. By then, I hope, we will have a permanent title for the column. Suggestions for a title will also be appreciated.

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...Oct. 21 Mobilization News

(Continued from Page 1)

\$45.05 respectively. . . . The Confront the Warmakers billboards (12 in all) [costing \$250 each] will be going up all over the city within the next week or so. . . . This, combined with intensive leafleting of the inner-city, shopping centers and factories should sufficiently saturate Detroit with information . . . the DCEWV is planning to send two or three people on a three-four week tour throughout Michigan and Western Ohio (Toledo area)."

BARD COLLEGE, ANNANDALE-ON-HUDSON, New York — "We are working on buses for the October 21 mobilization."

WEST HARTFORD, Conn. — The president of the University of Hartford SDS wrote to the Student Mobilization Committee: "We hope to be able to send down a couple of busloads of people..."

An international conference of peace groups meeting in Stockholm, Sweden has endorsed the call for international demonstrations on October 21.

TIDEWATER, Va. — "... The Tidewater, Virginia chapter of Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam voted to lend its support to the proposed October 21st rally in Washington, D.C."

COLLEGE OF WOOSTER, Ohio — "Please send all materials such as posters, accommodations, where to begin, etc., on the confrontation in Washington."

FAIRFIELD, Conn. — "We have just started a group in Fairfield called the Fairfield Students Against the War. We are planning to try to get many students from our high school to go to October 21 mobilization, but we have not done anything like this before so we are desperate for ideas."

HIGHLAND PARK, Ill. — "The Highland Park Committee on Vietnam . . . is interested in chartering one or several buses to the October Mobilization in Washington."

PINOLE, Calif. — "I am coming to the March on Washington."

EDMONTON, Canada — "In Edmonton we are organizing a big demonstration for October 21."

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — Vietnam Summer Nashville writes: "Please do your best to provide us with some speakers. . . . Places would be Peabody College, Vanderbilt University, and the Nashville Unitarian Church."

ABERDEENSHIRE, Scotland — "Our committee . . . agreed to hold a march and a meeting in conjunction with and in support of the American October 21st march." (Aberdeen Committee for Peace in Vietnam)

UPSTATE NEW YORK — From the office of the Dean of Students at an upstate college: "I would like very much for our college students to have some contact with your committee, so that antiwar interest here on campus could have some outside support and some communication with what is going on in the national movement."

HEMPSTEAD, N.Y. — From United For Peace: "We would greatly appreciate it if you would send us several hundred March on Washington calls, stickers . . . and buttons. . . ."

BUDAPEST, Hungary — From the World Federation of Democratic Youth: "Concerning October 21 demonstrations we have circulated recently the text of your circular to all affiliated and friendly organizations of the WFDY urging them to act accordingly . . . We shall be very much obliged if we could receive from you concrete proposals to contribute in building international expression of solidarity around October 21 demonstrations. Wish you every success."

LONDON, England — From the National Association of Labor Student Organizations who are preparing a support demonstration on October 22: "We are actively helping the efforts for mobilization and are sending out leaflets and stickers, posters, etc., to all our clubs in the universities and calling for coaches to be organized in an all-out effort to make the 22nd a really big event."

COLUMBIA, S.C. — "An antiwar movement is beginning to emerge in Columbia, South Carolina. We believe that a good way to strengthen convictions and build up morale is to organize a group to participate in the Peace March on October 21."

AMSTERDAM, The Netherlands — From the Comité-Vietnam: "We want to organize a demonstration on October 21, to issue an information leaflet . . . and to issue posters."

A mass mobilization is scheduled in Vancouver, Canada on October 21.

DANVILLE, Ky. — "If there are any groups in Lexington, Ky., or Louisville, Ky., please send me their names so I can arrange transportation for a group of approximately 25 from here."

AUSTIN, Texas — "Please send us . . . 1,000 calls to October 21 brochures . . . please rush this order to us."

OSLO, Norway — From Den Norske Solidaritetskomite for Vietnam: "Hereby we inform you that we are preparing for great actions the 21st of October . . . The Norwegian Committee of Solidarity with Vietnam is now gathering the following organizations to create common action to press our government to protest the American war on Vietnam: Parties: Socialist Peoples Party, Communist Party, youth organizations of the Liberal Party and the Labor Party. A lot of trade unions are also stating their support to the action . . .

"On October 21st there will be protests all over Norway, in all cities and greater places by our 45 local committees. In Oslo the arrangements will conclude with a great concert and meeting in one of our largest halls, where our most famous writers, artists and musicians will demonstrate their solidarity."

ANNAPOLIS, Md. — "A socialist study group on campus here at St. John's College, of which I am a member, would like to receive a kit of your current literature on the October 21st event."

Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Commends Mideast Stand

New Brunswick, N.J.
I have read the issues of *The Militant* that deal with the Arab-Israeli conflict. Most of the articles and the reporting were excellent. I am sending a \$15 check as a token of appreciation (this includes \$3 for a one year subscription to *The Militant*).

A.E.

P.S. I am enclosing a copy of the resolutions of the Arab Student Organization's annual convention.

New Reader

Chattanooga, Tenn.
I would appreciate it so much if you would send me the introductory offer to *The Militant*. This type of reading is not here for the black population. Therefore we tend to not know. Please rush as soon as possible.

Reader

Appreciation

Greensboro, N.C.
I think you are doing a wonderful job and providing a unique and necessary service aiding many to be heard, thus expanding the hopes and chances for humanity to reach its goal of Utopia, fulfilling the dreams and visions of all revolutionaries since the beginning of time. We on the Front who are preparing for the uplifting of

humanity when the time comes, appreciate your service and hope that we can soon help spread your works.

W. E. M. Bryant, Jr.
Executive Director
Educo, Incorporated

PL Rejects Support

Chicago, Ill.
I just reread an editorial in *Progressive Labor* magazine of March-April '66. The editorial rejected an offer by the Communist Party to support Bill Epton's defense case. Epton had been arrested for leading a PL demonstration in Harlem the day following the '64 "riots" there.

The editorial said that no one who disagreed with PLP as much as the CP did could possibly support them. But using this logic, PL couldn't accept the support of most radical groups, let alone liberals.

Is it irrelevant that these organizations, despite their differences with PL, might have a sincere interest in defending PL's civil liberties on the basis of self-interest? Does PL prefer to form a united defense — with itself alone? Does PL defend the civil liberties of only those groups it agrees with?

That is sectarianism worse than the CP — which right after Epton's arrest, had attacked PL's actions in Harlem without clearly stating, and emphasizing, PL's innocence of the government charge.

Perhaps the PL editor felt his argument needed a nuance of improvement, because he misquoted an Aug. 2 [1964] *Worker* editorial which had said that PL, at its demonstration, had declared that it, PL, did "indeed advocate violence and terror against the police and others."

The PL editor, in quoting, changed it to read "... against the people and others..." An interesting slip, in any case.

Russell DuPree

Carmichael Speech

Santa Monica, Calif.
I was particularly impressed by Stokely Carmichael's talk to the OLAS and it seems to me he expresses the philosophy of black power very well. I have some very liberal and socially concerned friends who do not understand Stokely Carmichael at all and what he is trying to do. I think this speech should give them a new insight.

R.S.

Antiwar Boycott

Brooklyn, N.Y.
It seems to me that the various anti-Vietnam-war organizations have missed the boat on one important method of protest, and that we should attempt to implement this, as soon as possible.

BOYCOTT [a worldwide boycott of certain specific items, such as autos, cameras, refrigerators] items that would seriously affect the economy of the war machine.

Items that can be gotten from

LOS ANGELES

Vietnam War Protest Rally

Sunday Oct. 15 2 p.m.

Hear: MR. CORKY GONZALEZ, president, Crusade of Justice; and REIES LOPEZ TIJERINA, chairman, Alianza Federal de Mercedes.

Entertainment by
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other nations, and which are of the same or better quality.

The Socialist International, the Social Democratic parties in some countries, the Communist parties, the 4th International parties, etc., plus various peace groups, plus the manufacturers within these various countries, would thus be able to join hands on this issue.

Thus the balance of payments would be affected, companies would be making a lesser profit, and thus pay less taxes, employment would be curtailed, and these persons will be forced to work for peace to get back on their jobs. Thus the whole war machine would be affected.

Those of us aged leftists can recall the effect of the boycott of Japanese goods in the period when they warred upon China, so that almost no store sold Japanese products, and it was very harmful to its economy.

In the world, it can give persons the opportunity to participate in a concrete action, that could be uniting forces of each country, and can be specific by picketing stores that will not comply. In various countries we can expect that even the business community will be more then pleased.

Within the USA, it can be important if, say a million persons decided not to buy items made in our own country, but instead bought shoes from Italy, radios from England or Germany, and so

forth, and this could also be very vital. For all these measures would affect the economy, and, our free democracy only gets upset when their profits are affected. Thus, I believe in addition to all other actions, it is quite possible to be much more effective by these economic acts.

Arthur A. Stone

Pot

Newark, N.J.
"In a struggle between an imperialist capitalist country and a colonial country the central issue is the right to independence of the colonial country." (*Militant*, Aug. 21, 1967). Agreed, but who threatened either the rights or the independence of the Arab States? The shoe is on the other foot. The independent Arab States threatened the very existence of tiny Israel, and I for one applaud her intelligent response.

"It would be the height of chauvinist arrogance for radicals in an imperialist country to refuse to support the movement of an oppressed people for independence and self-determination" (same

article). The massing of Arab troops on Israel's borders and blockading of Aqaba constitute a movement for independence and self-determination? Incredible logic!

"Lenin had only contempt for those 'socialists' who were able to justify the suppression of colonial revolts on the grounds of the reactionary leadership of the rebellion" (same article). According to this reference Israel suppressed a "colonial revolt." Lenin also probably had only contempt for those "socialists" who lie about history.

"The present bourgeois leaders (Arab) are not likely to accomplish these tasks." This referred to the likelihood of socialist revolution in the Arab countries (in the same article). Not likely indeed! "Kerensky is not likely to lead us to socialism." Imagine Lenin or Trotsky saying anything like that in all seriousness!

I think it's high time for the theoreticians of *The Militant* to stop smoking pot.

C.D.

Thought for the Week

"Incredible as it may seem, the election year 1968 may feature growing war expenditures, higher taxes, rising consumer prices, constricted credit availability and high credit costs — in other words, a politician's portrait of the Inferno." — Albert Sommers of the National Industrial Conference Board.

It Was Reported in the Press

Worms Fall Out — Some Cuban exiles in Florida said they are organizing a flotilla of boats to go to Cuba to bring back political prisoners. Other exile groups denounced the move "as a sinister Communist plot to embarrass the U.S. government."

The Democratic Process — A portrait of Arthur Goldberg in the *New York Post* recalls his role as general counsel to the AFL-CIO. When he took the job in 1948 his first chore was to administer the purge of "Communist-led" unions. "But I insisted on due process," Goldberg assured. "I have discovered it never prevents you from doing what has to be done."

Progress Report — The Pinellas County, Florida, school board voted to end an eight-year ban on unwed mothers in high schools. A similar ban on students who get married will remain in effect. A spokesman said they found that the ban had cut down the number of student marriages but had not proved a deterrent to unwed mothers. Unwed mothers will now be able to return to classes one school year after the birth of their child. Unwed fathers may continue as usual.

Solution — A headline in the Sept. 12 *Newark Evening News* advised: "Profit Motive Seen Solution to World Hunger Problems." That's something like using tobacco to cure cancer.

Boring from Within — An AP dispatch from Saigon reported that red ants knocked out telephone communications of the U.S. First Infantry Division by entering a phone cable and eating their way through insulation separating 50 pairs of wires. The *San Francisco Chronicle* headed the story: "Viet Ants Show Their Color."

Etched in Acid — Mrs. Ivy Baker Priest, former U.S. Treasurer, told a Lynwood, Calif., audience that the U.S. must rekindle its spiritual values. She said we must "deeply engrave in our hearts" the motto that appears on U.S. currency, stamps, etc., "In God We Trust." And, in keeping with that spirit, we would add the

traditional "All others pay cash."

Disturbed? — Valentino, a Roman courtier, is doing a brisk business in New York. Mrs. Charlotte Ford Niachros (whose father can't afford another wage increase for his auto workers) ordered a beige and gold pants suit from him at \$3,495. Jacqueline Kennedy picked out a pheasant-feather wool coat dress at \$1,395 and a one-shouldered evening dress at \$4,495. Valentino was guest of honor at a New York benefit cocktail party, sponsored by a local fashion shop. Proceeds to disturbed children.

Sudden Thought — It just occurred to us that during the big East Coast blackout several years ago many people couldn't brush their teeth properly.

Potent Sales Pitch — Certainly the Allen Kirkpatrick Company, producers of frozen oysters, wouldn't want to exploit the old notion that oysters increase sexual potency. But they are opening an advertising drive pointing up

their product's "nutritional" value. Newspaper ads will be headlined, "Is It True What They Say About Oysters?" This will be followed by: "Power packed with vim, vigor and WOW!"

Shopping Hint — A line-for-line copy of that \$4,495 evening gown Jackie ordered from Valentino is available at Orbach's in New York for a mere \$750.

Our Healthy Society — One New York "art studio" featuring nude models for "artists and photographers" has a new twist. It has models available by appointment for body painting. Apparently the use of brushes is required.

Mini-Thought — The Chinese have blasted the Russian acceptance of miniskirts. They said it revealed the extent of Soviet revisionism. We trust that women members of Progressive Labor and other Maoist groupings have taken proper note.

—Harry Ring

FOR NEW READERS

If you are a new reader and would like to get better acquainted, you may obtain a special four-month introductory subscription by sending this blank and \$1 to

THE MILITANT

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N.Y. Meeting Salutes Late Isaac Deutscher

By Alex Harte

NEW YORK — A memorial meeting for Isaac Deutscher, the world-famed Marxist historian, was held here Sept. 22 under the auspices of the Militant Labor Forum. Deutscher died in Rome on Aug. 19 at the age of 60.

The well-attended meeting heard Arthur Redler, a long-time friend of Deutscher; Doug Jenness, editor of the *Young Socialist*; Prof. Melvin Leiman of the Department of Economics at Harpur College; Harry Braverman, director of Monthly Review Press and Prof. Louis Menashe of the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn commemorate Deutscher's life and work. George Novack, who collaborated with Deutscher in editing an anthology of Trotsky's writings, *The Age of Permanent Revolution*, was chairman of the meeting.

Arthur Redler first met Deutscher 40 years ago at a socialist meeting in Warsaw, and became his life-long friend. He described Deutscher's early break with his orthodox Jewish background and his conversion to Marxism, "to which he remained faithful for the rest of his life."

Deutscher's orthodox Marxism was a theme emphasized by all the speakers. Prof. Menashe discussed Deutscher as a historian, saluting his work "as a model of socialist scholarship." Not only was Deutscher an erudite scholar and accurate historian, Prof. Menashe pointed out, but he had the added advantage which Marxism gave him in seeing the over-view of history. Deutscher, as a historian, was also a committed socialist, and defended socialism and the Soviet Union from both the attacks of capitalist circles and the distortions and falsifications of Stalinism.

Arthur Redler described the development of the young Polish Communist intellectual during the period of the rise of Stalinism and the anti-Trotsky campaign. Deutscher, as a disciplined party member, wrote a piece attacking Trotsky's book *Literature and Revolution*. But when some of his friends drew his attention to the fact that he had accepted a rude oversimplification of Trotsky's views, he started to read Trotsky's writings and became an adherent of Trotsky's.

At the time of the rise of fascism in Germany, Deutscher wrote an article calling for a united front of the Communist and Socialist parties to fight Hitler. For this heresy, he was expelled. Redler then sketched the major events in Deutscher's life as a journalist and Marxist historian.

Harry Braverman observed that the fact Deutscher was "one of the fortunate handful who followed Trotsky" enabled him to carry on

the tradition of classical Marxism.

Last spring Deutscher was invited to the Harpur College campus in Binghamton, N.Y., where he gave a lecture series on Soviet society. Prof. Melvin Leiman described the profound impact Deutscher had on the students he came in contact with, and the controversy his presence caused in the upstate town.

Leiman said that Deutscher would argue with the more radical students over some of the misconceptions of the "new left," especially on the role of the working class. He would explain and insist on the Marxist view that the working class will be the primary agent of social change, and urged the student radicals to look to the working class and bring socialist ideas to it.

Deutscher's impact upon radicalizing youth emerged as the other major theme of the meeting. "Although he preferred to walk by himself for three decades," George Novack observed, "Isaac Deutscher will continue to influence the shape of events to come in the revolutionary movement through the written word."

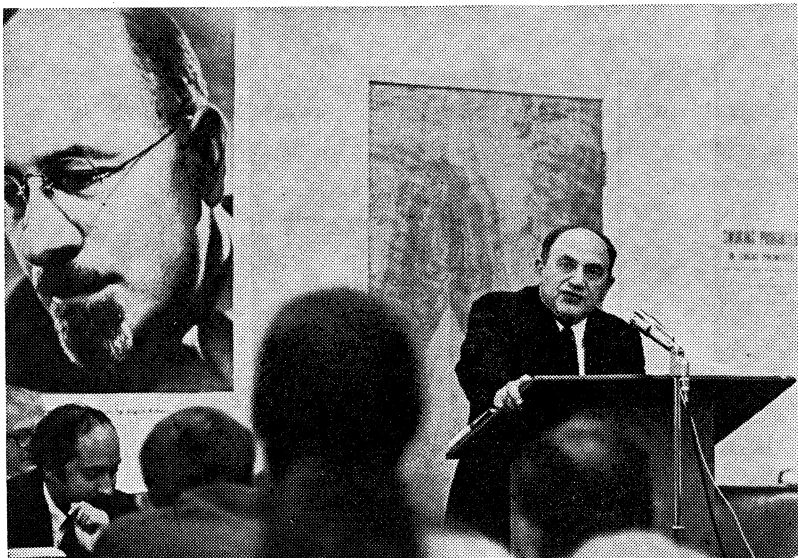
Doug Jenness contrasted Deutscher's Marxist approach with what passes for history in our schools, and said that his work will help young people to discover the true history of the Russian Revolution. Jenness also pointed out that Deutscher served and will continue to serve to introduce young people to the real Trotsky and to Trotsky's ideas.

In addition to the impact of his works, he influenced the younger generation in this country directly through his speeches at meetings of the antiwar movement, where he championed Marxism and socialism.

During the meeting, a short film interview with Deutscher, taken by David Weiss at the April 15 antiwar demonstration in New York, was shown.

The memorial meeting sent the following message to Deutscher's widow, Tamara, and his son, Mark:

"The many friends and admirers who have met tonight in New York to commemorate Isaac Deutscher's life and work wish to convey our comradely sympathy to you. We feel, as you must, that the sudden death of this Marxist scholar prevented him from completing projects of great value. Despite this irretrievable loss, his written work remains as a precious source of information, enlightenment, and inspiration for many others like ourselves who want to learn the truth about the crucial conflicts and the way to human liberation in our time."



DEUTSCHER MEMORIAL. Arthur Redler speaking at Militant Labor Forum meeting in New York.

Poll Shows Viet Referendum Gaining in San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO — A recent independent poll on the Vietnam war issue which will also appear on the ballot here in November shows 38.9 percent in favor of immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam; 27.7 percent against and 33.1 percent undecided or refusing to answer.

The poll was conducted by Pat Bell, past president of Research Control Corporation and now an independent survey consultant. Bell interviewed a sample of 400 registered voters during the week before the California Supreme Court ruled that the antiwar proposition is to be placed on the ballot.

Those interviewed were asked, "If the following issue appears on the ballot would you vote yes or no? — It is the policy of the people of the city and county of San Francisco that there be an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese people can settle their own problems." This is the same wording which will appear on the ballot under Proposition P.

Black voters polled responded 66.6 percent, yes; 10.4 percent, no; 22.9 percent undecided and none refused to answer.

White voters: 38.4 percent, yes; 30.6 percent, no; 21.8 percent, undecided; 9.1 percent refused to answer.



SUPPORT OUR BOYS — BRING THEM HOME. U.S. soldiers are dying in unjust, immoral war. Here, weary Marine looks on as bodies of buddies are hauled away, victims of Washington's policies.

Democrats: 48.7 percent, yes; 24.3 percent, no; 23.9 percent, undecided; 3.0 percent refused to answer.

Republicans: 27.9 percent, yes; 34.5 percent, no; 25.0 percent undecided; 12.5 percent refused to answer.

The Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam announced plans for special unofficial polling places in November so 18-20 year olds and un-

registered adults can cast ballots on the issue.

The citizen's group was the organization which led the drive to place the issue on the ballot, and is now organizing the campaign for its adoption. Volunteers are needed. Contact Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam, 55 Colton Street, San Francisco.

Calif. New Politics Parley Splits

By Roger Filene

The conference initiated by various Community for New Politics groups and held in San Luis Obispo, Calif., Sept. 16-17 split on whether or not to try to establish a third party in California.

Political differences on this question were not clearly spelled out on the conference floor. Instead, the gathering split on a proposal to give black participants 50 percent of the vote. Less than 200 people participated in the conference. Of these some 15 were Afro-Americans. They formed a Black Caucus and their spokesman, Ayuko Babu of the Los Angeles Black Panther Party, demanded 50 percent of the vote on issues affecting the black community. He defined such issues to include health, jobs, welfare, the Vietnam war and others. This sparked a crisis in the convention which was not overcome.

Three Groupings

There were three main political groupings at the conference. There was a delegation from the Bay Area Community for New Politics. Their principal spokesmen were Robert Avakian of *Ramparts* magazine and Jack Weinberg of the Independent Socialist Club. They favor a third party and speak of the need for such a party adopting a militant program.

From the Los Angeles area there was a grouping of supporters of the Peace and Freedom Reregistration Committees. These committees are conducting a campaign to persuade 67,000 people to drop their major party affiliation and reregister as Peace and Freedom. If 67,000 voters so reregister before the end of the year the party would have ballot status. The only other way to put a new party on the ballot in California is to obtain more than a half million signatures of registered voters on independent nominating petitions.

The Reregistration Committees do not offer any proposals beyond conducting the reregistration drive. The question of program and candidates, they assert, can be taken up later.

The third major contingent at the conference were leading public spokesmen for the California Communist Party. Among them were Dorothy Healey, Ben Dobbs, Mickey Lima and Bettina Aptheker. Their general approach was to keep the movement "fluid." They say they are interested in an alternative to Johnson in '68 but that a third party movement must obtain a base in the black community.

Close With Demos

The CP leaders are particularly concerned that close, friendly relations be maintained with the liberal California Democratic Council of the Democratic Party. This is in sharp counterposition to people like Weinberg and Avakian who insist that the CDC must be regarded as "the main enemy" of those who would build an independent political movement.

In response to the Black Caucus resolution that it be given 50 percent of the vote to be cast as a bloc, Jack Weinberg and Mike Hannon of the Los Angeles Reregistration Committee offered an amendment that instead of the whites voting separately while the blacks voted as a bloc, thus assuring them mechanical control, that both whites and blacks vote as 50-50 blocs so that only those decisions would be made that were agreed on by both.

After an extremely heated debate, with the CP spokesmen and others in sharp opposition, the Weinberg-Hannon proposal carried 70 to 48. The conference then divided into three caucuses: the Black Caucus; a Majority Caucus, composed largely of the Bay Area CNP people and the Reregistration

Committees; and a Minority Caucus, composed largely of the CPers and such New Politics figures as Simon Casady, who explained to the gathering that he still participates in the meetings of the Executive Council of the CDC as a former chairman.

The next day a Minority Caucus proposal to revoke the Weinberg-Hannon amendment was defeated and the Black Caucus announced it was walking out.

For the bulk of the weekend, there were essentially three conferences, with each of the caucuses meeting separately.

The majority caucus voted to continue reregistering people for a Peace and Freedom Party even though they have only 3,600 signatures after several months of work. After 11 declinations, Bob Avakian, of Northern California, Al Moreno of Southern California, and Jack Weinberg, At Large, were elected as a steering committee to continue this effort.

Doubts Reregistration

At the Minority Caucus, Dorothy Healey proposed that another conference be held at the end of the year following the forthcoming CDC state convention. She expressed doubt as to the wisdom of the reregistration drive.

The Minority Caucus, which fought so vigorously to give 50 percent of the votes to blacks at this conference, then voted to press at the CDC state convention that blacks and Mexican-Americans comprise 40 percent of the convention steering committee. The contradiction was not explained.

The failure of the conference continues the crisis of the CNP. Some still look to the liberal Democrats. The third-party people are quite disillusioned. A number at the conference expressed interest in the Socialist Workers campaign for Halstead and Boutelle.